What differences in circumstances existed that might affect nutritional level? On the one hand were relatively isolated nuclear families, which we estimated as 15-20% of the families, living in tiny separate cottages.[1] Usually with inadequate or no land, they earned an irregular income by hiring themselves out for farm or other work. At the other extreme, in a hamlet-like cluster of dwellings, lived a closely affiliated group of kin. A senior couple more or less headed the married sisters, brothers, or children, maybe with a hired man, or family that as autonomous households cooperated amicably in economic and domestic tasks. We estimated these as 20-25% of the Bang Chan families. The larger social unit, having more hands to produce, and to share tasks, was better able to provide good food and general health care to its members, than a small isolated family. Four problems more easily handled by the larger group were household chores and child-care, farming, borrowing, and earning money.

Young children had to be constantly tended lest they fall into the water, the fire, or under the buffalo's feet. They never entered the fields during work. Fishing and gathering of water plants was complicated because in boats, small children had to be held. Where there were but two parents and young children, one parent could not do many things until the other came home. Perhaps neither partner could stay away long enough to get a big batch of fish or greens from the canal, or go to the store. Cooking was simplified, or food might be prepared once a day only. Respite came only when the first born was able to help oversee a younger child, sometimes staying home from school to do so. Where the adult cooperative group was larger, movement was freer. All the strong adults could work in the fields or at a job, confident that the home was well tended. They came home to a well-prepared meal, ready when they wanted it. Such households had more fresh fish because farm work could be completed sooner, hence more persons could devote themselves to fishing. Some physically able members could even be spared and financed to go beyond the required four grades of elementary school.

Plowing could be done by a man and wife, but for both transplanting and harvesting which had to be done within a few days, large groups were necessary. Two patterns of auxiliary group labor prevailed: reciprocal cooperative work, and hiring of labor.

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1. Janlekha, 1955, categorized families as 5% "one-person," 59% nuclear, 8% limited extended (including one or more parents of a spouse), 27% extended (including dependent married couples or other collateral relatives), and the temple residents. At least 32% of the families had inadequate or no land. His figures do not indicate the degree of domestic cooperation which was an ameliorating factor in well-being.

2: Henck et al. D.E-5 (1952-1954) 1958 AO7 Central Thai AO7 Bang Chan

Table 8. Summary of Economic Conditions of the Two Groups of Households Participating in Dietary Studies

Household Group and Code No.	Household Members	Land Rai Worked	Land Rai Owned	Buffalo[1]	Food Cost[2] Total	Food Cost[2] Per Cap.	No. of Priests Fed	Sources of Income
Group A								
222	5	0	0	0	2.96	0.59	0	Labor contractor; hired out as labor; boat repair; fishing; vegetables sold; canal digging.
12	3	12	0	1	2.70	0.90	0	Rice production; occasional work in Bangkok.
215	5	14	0	1	1.59	0.32	0	Rice production; wife, a medium.
67	5	16	6	1-0	2.52	0.50	0	Rice production; eggs sold; road jobs.
2	6[3]	20	0	2	3.97	0.66	3	Rice production; "professional cook".
103	8	47	12	5	2.04	0.26	2[4]	Rice production; eggs, fish, mushrooms sold; buffaloes raised.
Mean		18.2	3.0	1.6	2.37	0.49	0.7	
Group B								
23	8[3]	6	0	1	1.56	0.19	0	Rice production; selling fish and vegetables; masseur.
21	4	25	25	3	1.92	0.48	3	Rice production; headman
16	8	47	47	5	2.70	0.34	2	Rice production; vegetables, fruit sold; road jobs.
25	8	50	50	3	7.97	1.00	2	Rice production; eggs, mushrooms sold.
20	9	66	51	11	2.47	0.27	2	Rice production; ceremonialist; doctor; carpentry; trading; eggs collected and sold.
Mean		38.8	34.7	2.6[1]	3.32	0.45	1.8	

1. The buffalo belonging to Household 67 died during the year. In Household 20, the brother who moved in owned several buffalo, thus the total for Group B was more than the number shown.

2. Average cash expenditure per day, in baht. (One baht equalled about 5 cents) Household 222 received rice as part of wages.

3. Babies born during Round IV were not included. In Household 23, a 12-year old son served as temple boy and was away from home much of the time.

4. Rainy season only, when priests could come by boat; counted as 1 in computing average.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan
Thailand AO1

been religious in nature—getting the assistance of villagers to construct monks' cubicles or repairing the small rest pavilions near the monastery, the "pay" for which is Buddhist merit—or, if secular, infused with sacred attributes, such as when the head monk helped raise funds for the construction of the Bang Chan school by supporting the notion that villagers who gave money to the school would make merit. It is clear, however, that the organizational vigor of the Bang Chan monkhood is mainly a function of the aggressive personality and leadership of Bang Chan's particular abbot, and that with a more retiring, contemplative head monk—a not uncommon or undesirable role for an abbot—the situation would be strikingly different.

In a similar vein, it is difficult to link the incidence of land ownership and tenancy in Bang Chan with any consistent national or regional pattern. At the national level, Thailand is fortunate among predominantly peasant nations in having a comparatively low level of land tenancy, an estimated 80 percent of the cultivated land of the country being owned by the small, independent farmers who work it (National FAO Committee of Thailand 1949). However, within these broad, national parameters there is considerable inter- and intra-regional variation. Zimmerman's study in the early 1930's indicated that the number of peasants without land ranged from 14 percent in Southern Thailand, through 27 percent in the North, to 36 percent in the Central Plain. These regional figures seemed to have remained relatively constant through the years in that deYoung (1955) reports a tenancy figure of 27.7 percent for a village in the North which he studied in 1949, and Janlekha (1955) indicates a figure of 37 percent for Bang Chan, in the Central Plain, in 1953.[4] As close as the Bang Chan figure may seem to its regional average, however, it is of little significance when seen against the background of variability that exists within the region as a whole: for example, in villages near the city of Lopburi, only 12 percent of the villagers are landless, but in the Khlong Rangsit area, not far

[4] It should be noted, however, that other indices of economic well-being in Bang Chan have not remained constant. To the extent that his historical materials permit, Janlekha (1955) points out that land holdings have become increasingly smaller, the amount of time newly-married couples must live with one set of parents (in order to accumulate the capital necessary for setting up their own neolocal households) longer, and the price of land higher. Janlekha's data indicate that in the five-year period between 1948 and 1953 alone, the price of agricultural land, as contrasted with considerably more expensive residential land, in and around Bang Chan increased 560 percent!

It is also well to keep in mind Janlekha's observation that, depending upon familial circumstances such as number of children and availability and proximity of labor, a Bang Chan farmer who rents a large plot of land from a benevolent absentee landlord, who is often unfamiliar with Bang Chan crop values, may be considerably better off economically than a farmer who works a small plot of land that is all his own.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

from Bang Chan, the figure is as high as 85 percent (Dobby 1950). In these terms, therefore, it is best to view the incidence of land tenancy in Bang Chan as largely a function of local, historical circumstances.

A final word should be said about Bang Chan's proximity and accessibility to Bangkok—the cornucopia of so much that is new, interesting, and desirable (if somewhat equivocally) to most Siamese peasants. It is clear that Bang Chan's closeness to the capital creates certain conditions that would not be present in a community situated, for example, 200 kilometers, instead of 31 kilometers, from the nation's largest city. Simply on practical grounds, this nearness to the city permits the villagers to take advantage of opportunities—economic, recreational, and religious—which those living in distant provinces can obtain only after serious consideration of the financial and psychological expenses involved: "Do I have shoes to wear in the city? Do they treat people from the provinces well? With whom will I stay? Do I have the train fare?" A Bang Chaner who visits the capital does not have to make such financial or emotional commitments, since it is only a one hour, three and one-half baht (seventeen and one-half cents) bus ride back home, although many do share with their up-country cousins the peasant's apprehensions about city manners.

The attractions of Bangkok take several forms: off-season jobs, medical care, kinship ties, special schools, great market places, famed monasteries or fairs, and the many other places where one can go to have fun. A survey conducted in Bang Chan during 1955 (Goldsen and Ralis 1957) indicates that 62 percent of all household heads in the village visited Bangkok more than twice during the year for just such purposes. (Twenty-one percent had not gone to Bangkok at all, and 23 percent had gone more than ten times.) Many villagers, particularly younger men, attracted by the promise of regular wages, lighter work, and the bright lights of the city, leave Bang Chan with the hope that they will never have to return, although of course many do. The Goldsen-Ralis survey reveals that 26 percent of their respondents had lived in Bangkok for a year or more, although for most this was in fulfillment of military service.

Living in Bangkok is not something that is desired in and of itself. Bang Chaners are keenly aware of the disadvantages of city living—particularly its great expense and insecurity—and are impressed only by those individuals who have made a success out of their urban sojourn. Most would agree that a Bangkok coolie, for all his exposure to the wonders of the modern world, lives a considerably less attractive life than they do.

The frequent transit between Bang Chan and Bangkok,[8] however,

[8] Of less practical consequence than their direct personal experiences and word-of-mouth contacts, but not to be ignored, are the villagers' contacts with Bangkok by way of radio, newspapers, books, and of course by way of what their children bring

arbitrary, were it not for the Buddhist temples, a neighboring government-operated primary school, and a few small stores, all of which provide a center for the community. There the inhabitants paddle their boats for religious observances, their children attend school, and anyone with a few minutes gossips over a cup of coffee. These people, furthermore, speak of themselves when outside the community as coming from Bang Chan, and the temple familiarly called "Wat Bang Chan" helps outsiders to identify the particular area. 361 621

The community's 1600 inhabitants live in one of seven hamlets, each with an officiating headman who may offer some leadership to the neighborhood. Bang Chan has no political unity beyond the informal influence of the head priest at the temple, for administrative units of local government disregard its social and psychological coherence. On one side of the main canal headmen go a rough two miles to attend meetings with the District Officer, while their neighbors across the canal must spend half a day on the canal to reach the district offices which govern them. 161 621 634 624

As the survey results indicate, about 88 per cent of the households receive the major portion of their income from cultivating rice, though many of these men and women turn briefly to other occupations during the slack season. The remaining fraction is divided between persons engaged in trade as storekeepers or vendors and those in such service occupations as highway labor or school janitor. 621 243 434 443 464

A little less than half of the population owns the land or a portion of the land it works, the remainder renting from neighbors and landholders living away from Bang Chan. Though land becomes scarcer every year and its subdivision into small plots finer, land problems and landlord problems are not important concerns of the area farmers. Economic factors also grant higher status within the community to landholders than to renters and the landless. Age also age and religious piety bring respect. Yet social structure articulates flexibly enough to afford a young renter of good reputation and energy a decent hearing at a meeting, and indeed, he might carry his point in a group of wealthy landholders. Two or three times in past generations young men have moved from thatched houses in Bang Chan to high government positions in Bangkok through fortunate connections that enabled them to attend leading schools, as well as through their own industry. People merely invoke the Buddhist concept of accumulating merit in present and past lives through good deeds when they comment on the rise of such persons, for with sufficient merit all is possible. Thus regularity in the socio-economic order becomes a moderate level of probability admitting many exceptions. 423 427 554 621 [555] [771]

178 to which surviving elements of the disappearing families
592 were subsequently attached. It was noticed that in the
621 last four cases -- Cases 8, 9, 10, and 11 -- merging with new families was arranged on the basis of mutual convenience, and the disappearing families moved en masse into the new ones (with the exception of Case 10 -- a lone woman when arrangement for merging was being made). It may even be said that the initiative came from the receiving families, although the new members may have been more anxious for the union. In the remaining six cases -- Cases 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7 -- there was no element of mutual convenience, and the surviving elements of the disappearing families did not move into new families as a body but as an individual. It seemed in these latter cases that the force of circumstances -- death or extreme poverty -- had prompted either party, usually the disintegrating elements, to seek the union as a quick way out. Because of the purposive nature of the arrangement in the former cases, the process may be called 'annexation'; while for want of a proper term, the process seen among the latter cases will be called 'disintegration'.

[162] None of the eleven cases undergoing disintegration
[423] or annexation owned landed property. Table 6 shows that
[464] six of these were farm laboring families. The five others were distributed among the following occupational groups: farm operator, public servant, and no occupation.

[166] Among the 27 families that moved out of Bangchan, eleven families were known to be living in the bordering

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 75]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 6

DISINTEGRATION AND ANNEXATION OF FAMILIES
Bangchan, Thailand, 1949-53

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Case	Occupation	Landed Property	Immediate Cause	Number of Surviving Elements	Number of Attached Families
Disintegration:					
1.	F. laborer	no	poverty	11	4
2.	Public servant	no	death	1	1
3.	F. laborer	no	death	2	2
4.	F. operator	no	death	1	1
5.	F. laborer	no	death	5	3
6.	no occupation	no	death	0	0
7.	F. laborer	no	death	2	2
Annexation:					
8.	Public servant	no	convenience	4	1
9.	F. laborer	no	convenience	3	1
10.	F. operator	no	convenience	1	1
11.	F. laborer	no	marriage	3	1

593 There was one item of parental gifts which is not
431 shown in Table 8 -- the household equipment. Two of the
415 63 families reported that they received a complete set of kitchen utensils, and two included jars in their gift lists. After checking the result of this survey with some informants, however, many admitted that they did not include these kitchen utensils in the list because they were obvious items. Nevertheless, there was no basis on which it could be inferred that every newly established family received a set of the kitchen utensils. It was therefore decided to omit the household equipment from the table.

593 Another form of parental gifts was the practice,
427 if the parents had enough land to spare, of letting the
• 423 couple work on some ten or twenty rai free of charge for the first two years. Rent might be charged after that, but there were also cases in which the couples continue to work on the parcel without paying any rent to their parents and finally took it for granted that the parcels belonged to them.

Economic Significance of the Family

59 Much space has been devoted to discussion of the family because of its significant role as the only organized producing unit in the village economy. Another important function of the family was mentioned in previous sections -- through privileges extended to the majority of newly wed couples during the nascent period, the old family facilitated

59 the establishment of a new family, virtually a new farm. It must be noted in this connection, however, that not all new families started outwith financial resources. There are circumstances like incongenial relationship between the dependent couple and their parents or other members of the family, tight financial situation of the old family, or extreme optimism on the part of the young couple themselves that brought about premature fission.

*243 The role of the family becomes more outstanding when 433 the following features of rice farming are considered: 59

• [423] 1. In Bangchan, as elsewhere in the rice producing areas of Thailand, a farm means rice land available for the family to till because farm income depends more on rice acreage than anything else.

2. An operator is generally not in a position to reallocate his resources in order to obtain higher income. Usually he does not, for example, put in more labor to get a better crop, for crop under existing technology would not increase with more labor than normally used. He does not put in fertilizer, for it is not certain, in his thinking, that profit is assured in so doing. He does try to improve his rice strains for greater yield, however.

[464] 3. The only way to increase income from rice with no change in technology (other than improving strains), then, is to increase acreage utilizing the same amount of family labor. This is the case, as we shall see in a later chapter on farm organization and management, because of the existing under-employment of family labor.

*243 growing village could not very well be studied in a brief period of only one rice year. Rather, the field study should be extended to cover years of good as well as poor crop.

Land Utilization

Official records show that the area of land privately owned in the seven hamlets comprising Bangchan is 6,404 rai. [503] When an estimated area of 100 rai of public land occupied by the half dozen canals is added to the private land area, the total area of the village may be figured at about 6,500 rai.

*243 351 • 423 911 621 The area of each of the 298 homelots in Bangchan varied. It is rather difficult to get accurate figures for these homelot areas. We may, however, give an allowance of one rai for each homelot on the basis of crude estimate. This would include space for buildings and all of the home compound including family pools as well as kitchen garden, and in some cases area devoted to fruit trees. Since all of the land area in Bangchan other than homelots is devoted to rice growing, we may estimate the land available for rice production by simply deducting the homelot area from the total area of land privately owned in the village. This was found to be 6,106 rai in 1953 (Table 12).

*243 311 423 621 It should be noted that not all of this area of 6,106 rai was tilled by Bangchan residents, and that some of the villagers also worked on rice fields outside our arbitrary

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 113]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 12

LAND AVAILABLE FOR RICE PRODUCTION
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

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Hamlet	Land Privately Owned	Allowance for Homelot	Land Available for Rice Production
	rai	rai	rai
BC4	930	40	890
BC5	809	28	781
BC6	900	47	853
KY5	891	63	828
KY6	916	31	885
KY7	939	42	897
KY8	1,019	47	972
Total	6,404	298	6,106

*243 311 • 423 621 village boundary. Table 13 shows that Bangchan residents worked on a combined area slightly larger than that available to them in our arbitrary village limits. This situation of a village resident working on a field outside the village boundary should not be perceived as one in which the farmer in one village had to walk a few miles to work in another village, for in all cases the fields involved were in the peripheral areas.

*243 423 621 Since the approach adopted in this study was one through the people rather than through land, for ease in statistical manipulation we shall use the area worked by Bangchan residents to represent our natural Bangchan area. Thus, when we say that 64 per cent of the rice area in Bangchan are owned by operators, we refer to the 4,314 rai of the 6,722 rai worked by Bangchan residents, not the 3,908 rai of the 6,106 rai which is the actual rice area of the village.

*243 In Bangchan, as elsewhere in the country except in limited areas in part of Chiengmai and Lampoon provinces in the north, a single crop of rice is grown without any crop rotation practice. The rice season starts in late May or early June depending upon the actual arrival of the rainy season, and lasts until the harvest of late varieties in the first half of February. At the beginning of the season, the field work is concentrated in the seedbed which is about one-twelfth of the total planting area. Most of the field, then, is not occupied by the crop until transplanting time

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 115]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 13

RICE LAND WORKED BY BANGCHAN RESIDENTS
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

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Hamlet	Land Available for Rice Production	Land Worked by Residents	Net Area Outside, Worked by Residents
	rai	rai	rai
BC4	890	801	- 89
BC5	781	497	-284
BC6	853	1,102	249
KY5	828	1,295	467
KY6	885	850	- 35
KY7	897	1,016	119
KY8	972	1,161	189
Total	6,106	6,722	616

of village production and surplus of paddy (Table 16) there were no comparable basis for our estimate of the other crops. Our estimates of these other crops should therefore be considered as crude estimates.

Tables 16 and 17 show that in 1953 Bangchan had surpluses of 104,756 tang of paddy, 293,232 chicken eggs, and 67,050 duck eggs, and a deficit of 4,945 kilograms of fish. Using the 1953 farm prices of 9 baht per tang of paddy, 0.40 baht per chicken egg, 0.50 baht per duck egg, and 5 baht per kilogram of fish, village exports may be estimated at 942,804 baht for paddy, 146,616 baht for chicken eggs, and 33,525 baht for duck eggs, and village import of fish may be estimated at 24,725 baht.

Land Tenure

Table 18 shows that Bangchan residents owned an aggregate area of 4,315 rai. Since their combined area planted to rice was 6,722 rai, the balance of 2,407 rai had to be provided by absentee landowners. In fact an area larger than 2,407 rai had to be rented in because part of the area owned by local residents had to be used as homelots. Actually, the net area rented in was 2,438 rai (total area rented in of 3,641 rai minus total area of 1,203 rai rented out). It is not to be expected, however, that this extra area of 31 rai (an excess of 2,438 over 2,407 rai) is enough to accommodate the 298 homelots in the village. Inaccuracies might have arisen in cases of joint ownership of certain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

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TABLE 18

RICE AREAS WORKED, OWNED, RENTED IN, AND RENTED OUT
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

Hamlet	Total Families	Total Population	Area In Rai			
			Worked	Owned	Rented In	Rented Out
BC4	40	236	801	849	413	458
BC5	28	136	497	305	261	65
BC6	47	270	1,102	576	531	--
KY5	63	356	1,295	963	834	487
KY6	31	168	850	585	354	95
KY7	42	250	1,016	597	527	108
KY8	47	278	1,161	440	721	--
Total	298	1,694	6,722	4,315	3,641	1,203
Areas per family			22.4	14.5	12.2	4.0
Areas per man			4.0	2.5	2.1	0.7

243 parcels by siblings who failed to include their share in
423 those parcels in the reporting of areas owned. For want
427 of a proper basis for adjustment, we chose to let the figures
128 stand as they were reported.

Table 19 shows that the combined area in rice of all the 216 farms in Bangchan was 6,638 rai, or almost 99 per cent of total area planted to rice by the residents, the balance of 84 rai being worked on by residents whose occupations were those other than farm operating. Of these 216 farms, 48 were classified as all owned, 88 part-owned, and 80 all rented.

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423 The conventional system of classifying farms accord-
554 ing to land tenure into all owned (owner-operator), part-
427 owned (part-owner), and all rented (tenant) should not be
128 used without modification as a classification of economic or social status in population pressure areas where an efficient size farm is usually an exception rather than a rule. In these areas, it does not hold, as it seems to imply, that an owner-operator has a superior economic status than a part-owner and that a part-owner is still in a better eco-
[434] nomic position than a tenant. There is a wide range in size of farm operation and hence of incomes within these categories.

Within the category of owner-operator, there are major differences in size of operation and hence economic and social status. If a farmer -- to cite a specific case, Farmer A in BC4 -- owns the large area of rice of 235 rai,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 133a]

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7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 19

DISTRIBUTION OF 216 FARMS ACCORDING TO LAND TENURE, BY CONVENTIONAL CLASSIFICATION
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

Land Tenure	Number of Farms	Working Area				Average Number of Rai Operated
		Rai Owned	Rai Rented*	Total Rai Operated		
				Actual	Per Cent	
All owned**	48	1,589	--	1,589	23.9	33.1
Part owned	88	1,511	1,583	3,094	46.6	35.2
All rented	80	--	1,955	1,955	29.5	24.4
Total	216	3,100	3,538	6,638	100.0	30.7

* In cases where an operator both rents in and rents out some land, the net area rented in is used.

** Figures include only land owned and operated, land rented out is not included.

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7: Janlokha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 20

DISTRIBUTION OF 216 FARMS ACCORDING TO LAND TENURE,
BY SUGGESTED METHOD OF CLASSIFICATION
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

Land Tenure	Number of Farms	Working Area				Average Number of Rai Operated
		Rai Owned	Rai Rented*	Total Rai Operated		
				Actual	Per Cent	
Landlord-operator	11	517	--	517	7.8	47.0
Owner-operator	79	2,131	513	2,644	39.8	33.5
Part-owner	23	227	325	552	8.3	24.0
Tenant	103	225	2,700	2,925	44.1	28.4
Total	216	3,100	3,538	6,638	100.0	30.7

* In cases where an operator both rents in and rents out some land, the net area rented in is used.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

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he may rent out some and retain only the part he can operate well. In this case he chose to operate 65 rai in 1953, renting out the balance of 170 rai. On the other hand, another farmer -- Farmer B, also in BC4 -- who owns only a small parcel of nine rai may not be able to rent in additional land to make an efficient size farm. In this case, B was not able to rent in any land and had to work on only nine rai of his own in 1953. In an area of relatively low population pressure, the probability of failure to rent in some more land may be small, but it is not so small in the relatively high population pressure areas such as Bangchan. The difference between farmers owning a small area of land and a large area is so great from the standpoint of economics and social position as to warrant having two sub-divisions of the conventional "owner-operators".

Small "owner-operators" may increase their size of operation by renting in some more land and thus becoming part-owners. These farmers actually improve their socio-economic status if they are able to move from the group of owner-operators into the group of part-owners. To use another concrete example, Farmer B, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, who worked on the nine-rai parcel of his own, does not earn more farm income than Farmer C, also in BC4, who owned 20 rai and still rented in 30 more rai in order that his four family workers including himself might be fully employed with a 50-rai farm.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

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It is seen, then, that the conventional system of land tenure classification is of very limited usefulness in areas where under-employment of farm labor is the general pattern. In an attempt to increase its usefulness mentioned above, a new classification system for land tenure is suggested in which the "owner-operator" category of the conventional system is sub-divided and arbitrary limits set to partially solve the problem of the third type of confusion.

The emphasis of the suggested method of classification lies in the functional aspect of each category. Thus, operators who own all the farm land they operate and still have some more land to rent out, an indication that they really have more than enough land for their farm operating occupation, are grouped under the landlord-operator category. This group resembles the conventional "owner-operator" in that in both the farmers do not rent in any more land, but differs from the latter in that they are really land saturated farmers while the latter may or may not be land saturated. Generally speaking, therefore, the new landlord-operator group are economically more secure than the conventional owner-operator group.

Operators who own all the farm land they operate but do not have any more land in the village or close neighborhood to rent out are grouped under the owner-operator category. To avoid confusion of the second two adjustments are made: (1) if a farmer owns two-thirds or more of his working area, he is included in this category; and (2) he

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

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427 is also included in the category if he owns 20 rai or more of his working area regardless of how much land he rents in. It may be noticed that the non-renting section of this group resembles the conventional "owner-operator" and the renting section resemble the most affluent section of the conventiona "part-owner". Generally speaking, however, the whole group represents farmers who own the majority of their working area, or, in cases of those operating fairly large farms, own at least 20 rai of the working area -- a moderate size which may well place them in the middle third of the conventional "owner-operator" group if they should choose not to rent in any land.[7]

Operators whose working areas are more or less equall split between their own lands and rented lands are grouped under the part-owner category. Arbitrarily and more specifically, these include all operators who own one-third to almost two-thirds of their working areas with the exception of those owning 20 rai or more who are already grouped under the new owner-operator category.

Finally, operators whose working areas are predominantly rented lands are grouped under the tenant category. More specifically and also arbitrarily, these include all operators owning less than one-third of their working areas with the exception of those owning 20 rai or more.

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7. Of a total of 136 operators owning land in Bangchan, there were 66 who owned less than 20 rai (Table 21).

*128 While this "functional" classification of land tenure
• 423 does not eliminate all of the shortcomings of the conventional
427 method which have been accentuated by land scarcity, it evidently helps to bring about a clearer economic picture of the farm. If the primary purpose of land tenure classification is merely to establish a plain typology of the land holding situation for its own sake only, the conventional method might suffice even in farm labor underemployment areas. On the other hand, if we want to probe further into the business aspect of the farm, as we propose to do in Part II of this study, then a more revealing system of classification is perhaps necessary.

*243 It has been mentioned earlier in this section that
423 of 6,722 rai planted to rice by Bangchan residents a total
427 of 4,315 rai was locally owned (Table 18) and that a total
463 area rented in from outside renters was some 2,407 rai.
621 Since the net area rented out by local renters was 1,186 rai (Table 21), the proportion of outside renters to local renters was roughly two to one. Table 21 shows that there were 21 local renters whose main occupations were distributed among landlord-operators, trader, investors, and public servants, and that an average area rented out by each local renter was 56.5 rai.

Table 22 shows a frequency distribution of land owned by operators, and Table 23 shows a frequency distribution of land owned by non-operators.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 22

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF LAND OWNED BY OPERATORS
BY SIZE CLASSES
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

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Size Class	Frequency
rai	
0- 9	12
10-19	54
20-29	28
30-39	14
40-49	13
50-59	6
60-69	0
70-79	0
80-89	2
90-99	0
100-149	4
150-199	2
200 and over	1
Total	136
Mean	31.0 rai
Median	20.8 rai

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 23

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF LAND OWNED BY NON-OPERATORS
BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

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Class	Frequency	Total Area	Ave. Area	Range
		rai	rai	rai
Farm laborer	2	8	4.0	2- 6
Trader	8	184	23.0	3- 86
Investor	5	164	32.8	10- 76
Public servant	2	167	83.5	7-160
Total	17	523	30.8	2-160

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

369 It should be noted also that once a villager has moved
167 into Bangkok he will be deprived of the privilege to
162 acquire free food from nature -- an important economic advantage of living in the village which counts heavily when emigration to the city is being seriously contemplated.

427 It is seen, then, that the demand for land on the
423 part of land-thirsty operators -- the tenants, part-owners, and owner-operators -- was high and inelastic, while the demand for land on the part of land-saturated landlord-operators was low and elastic. Since the combined demand of all landlord-operators constituted only a small fraction of the total demand (Table 20), it may be safely concluded that the aggregate demand for land in Bangchan at the period we are dealing with was high and inelastic.

311 Let us now consider the supply side of land. For
423 the purpose of this discussion we may differentiate four
427 sources of supply of a total of 6,722 rai considered to
463 represent our natural Bangchan area. They are:

1. Land-thirsty operators -- all for implicit rent.
   a, Owner-operators 2,131 rai
   b, Part-owners 227 rai
   c, Tenants 225 rai
   Sub-total 2,583 rai

2. Land-saturated operators (landlord-operators).
   a, For implicit rent 537 rai
   b, For explicit rent 683 rai
   Sub-total 1,220 rai

3. Local non-operators -- all for explicit rent.
   a, Traders 189 rai
   b, Investors 149 rai
   c, Public servants 165 rai
   Sub-total 503 rai

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

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4. Non-indigenous landlords 2,416 rai (all for explicit rent).

To understand the working of the supply forces, it is necessary to break the non-indigenous landlords down into those living in the neighborhood of Bangchan, which we shall henceforth call the neighboring landlords, and those living far away, which we shall call the absentee landlords. It is regrettable that accurate figures for these breakdowns were not available, but it may be estimated on the basis of some known cases that they were roughly of the same proportion, that is, some 1,208 rai in this category were owned by neighboring landlords and the same amount by absentee landlords. On the basis of the same known cases, it may be generalized that the area of land owned by an average absentee landlord was larger than that owned by an average neighboring landlord.

It is obvious that the individual supply of land varies according to the type of the people who have command over it. Generally speaking, land-thirsty operators who supply part of their own working areas should provide an inelastic supply of land, for they will continue to offer to themselves all the land they own regardless of how the rent rate may change. All lands owned by land-thirsty operators yield only implicit rents, for if they are rented out for explicit rents, the landowners of the parcles in question would have changed their status to landlord-operators.

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In discussing the forces of demand for and supply of land in the few preceding pages, it is not the purpose of the author to quantify these forces and attempt to predict rent or the price paid by the tenant for the control of net income deriving from the use of the productive powers of the soil. Rather, the purpose is to confirm in this specific case Chamberlin's general notion that "the equilibrium of economic forces has been wrongly identified with an equilibrium between demand and supply. The latter is merely a special case of the former. Curves of demand and supply tell nothing, either by themselves or by their intersection, as to what price will be established, until other conditions are known."[14]

Prices of Land

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One of the most significant phenomena during the period covered by this study, from 1948 to 1953, is the rise of prices of land in Bangchan.

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Records of major receipts and expenses of 96 farm operators who have been continuously working on an average area of 3,140 rai, or 47 per cent of the total area worked by Bangchan residents, show that during this six-year period two operators sold two parcels of land and ten operators bought eleven parcels of land. Since none of these involved transaction between one and the other in our sample of 96 opera;tors, it can be said that there was a total of thirteen

14. Chamberlin, op. cit., p. 15.

423 purchases (or sales) of land involving operators in our
432 sample as either sellers or buyers. The price and size as well as the time of sale of each parcel is shown in Table 27. Using the highest of each year as the basis, it is observed that land price in Bangchan has been rising steadily from 350 baht per rai in 1948 to 700 baht in 1949, to 1,100 baht in 1950 and 1951, and then rose skyhigh to 11,000 per rai in 1953. To be sure, this spectacular rise, especially from 1951 to 1953, was largely due to the changing over of former agricultural to residential land. Nevertheless, when residential land is excluded from consideration, it is seen that the average rise in agricultural land prices was 560 per cent during the period from 1948 to 1953 (Table 28).

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Perhaps a case of one large parcel in "Thung Nai Sab" in KY5 may serve to illustrate the way land prices rose in Bangchan during these past few years. The area of this parcel, which was owned by Lady Phung of Bangkok, was 100 rai. Our informant's father, Hajji Sa-ard of Bangchan Mosque, was interested in this parcel of land because it was adjacent to his land which was not far away from his home. In 1946, Lady Phung was willing to sell it at 300 baht per rai, but Sa-ard was reluctant or not quick enough to accept this offer for sale. In 1947, the lady raised her price to 350 baht and Sa-ard was ready to buy. This time it was hesitancy on Phung's part that prevented the proposed purchase from being consumated. In 1948, our

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 160]

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TABLE 27

PRICES OF RICE LAND ACTUALLY SOLD OR PURCHASED
Bangchan, Thailand, 1948-53

Year	Parcel Size	Price Per Rai	Highest Price of the Year	Average Price of the Year
	rai	baht	baht	baht
1948	11	350	350	223
	12	180		
	16	138		
1949	10	700	700	700
	10	700		
	10	700		
	10	700		
1950	1	1,100	1,100	850
	10	600		
1951	19 1/2	1,100	1,100	721
	10 1/2	1,000		
	19 1/2	250		
1952	--	--	--	--
1953	1	11,000	11,000	11,000

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7: Jantakha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 28

ESTIMATED PRICES OF BANGCHAN LAND BY ZONE
SHOWING PRICE CHANGES FROM 1948 TO 1953
Bangchan, Thailand, 1948-53

Zone*	Location	1948-Price baht/rai	1953-Price baht/rai	Increase baht/rai	Increase Per cent
Residential:					
1	Roadside** (200 m. depth)	300	12,000	11,700	3,900
Agricultural:					
2	"Thung Nai Sab"-	270	1,500	1,230	456
3	"Thung Nai Pho"	280	1,800	1,520	543
4	"Thung Kl. Kred"	250	2,000	1,750	700
5	Kl. Kred - Kl. Bangchan	230	1,500	1,270	552
6	Kl. Krached-Kl. Bangchan	210	1,500	1,290	614
7	Kl. Bangchan-Kl. Kralog	200	1,200	1,000	500
	Av. for ag. land	240	1,583	1,343	560

* See Map I.
** In 1948, this zone was still considered agricultural land -- not residential land as it was in 1953.

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423 informant said that some of the lady's tenants who had been
435 renting the parcel told her that she should not let it go under 500 baht per rai. Our informant thought that these tenants did not want to see any transfer of the ownership of the parcel for fear that it might adversely affect their prospective tenure. Lady Phung therefore raised her price to 550 baht. At this price Sa-ard gave up his intention of buying the land. In 1949, four tenants (all are included in our sample of 96 farm operators, hence the purchases are shown in Table 27) jointly purchased 40 rai of this parcel, and one Nai Ma of Klong 13 bought the remaining 60 rai of the 100-rai parcel at 700 baht per rai. The four tenants divided the land equally among themselves (10 rai each) and paid 7,000 baht each with borrowed money. In 1952 an offer to buy at 1,000 baht per rai was made for the same parcel but none of the new owners wanted to sell any of his land. In 1953 the price rose to 1,500-2,000 baht per rai and again none of the owners contemplated selling his land. Of the four tenants, Farmer A was luckiest because his share was attached to the Minburi Road and the price of this specific portion has risen to somewhere around 12,000 baht per rai.

The case just mentioned shows one significant point regarding the price of land in Bangchan other than the steady rise -- that nearness to the road was not a factor of price distinction until after 1949, for if it was, there would certainly have been some difficulty in dividing the 40-rai piece among the four tenants.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

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Table 28 shows estimated prices of land in Bangchan in 1948 and in 1953. These prices are estimates made by our informant who is a son of Hajji Sa-ard mentioned in an earlier paragraph. He is one of the best informed persons in the village, has visited Mecca, and has received a higher education than any other person in Bangchan with the possible exception of one store-keeper who had spent a few years in the Military Academy in the 1910's.

Our informant, who will henceforth be called by his real name -- Hajji Direg, based his estimates of land prices in Bangchan on what he was willing to pay. He was aware of locational variation in prices of land in the village. Strictly speaking, this is not contradictory to our assumption of homogeneous nature of soils in Bangchan, for slight variation in Direg's estimated prices was due, according to him, to differences in the land levels which affected the cost of irrigation and drainage. Direg divided Bangchan into seven land-price zones (Table 28 and Map I). It is seen in this table that the 1948 price ranged from 200 baht per rai in Zone 7 to 300 baht per rai in Zone 1, averaging 249 baht per rai.

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Table 28 shows that the average price of agricultural land in Bangchan rose from 240 baht per rai in 1948 to 1,583 baht in 1953, an increase of more than five times in six years. Most remarkable was the increase of the price of land in Zone 1 from 300 baht per rai to 12,000 baht per rai. The increase in the price of land in Zone 1 shows that land

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 163]

178 in this zone has since been considered as residential land
423 although there has not been any apparent change in land
435 utilization.

178 It should be noted in this connection that during
423 the same period of 1948-53 there has been a steady rise in
435 the price of residential land in Bangkok at a highly varying rate depending upon location. For the purpose of our discussion, we may consider only the price of land in the northern suburb of Bangkok, on each side of Paholyotin Road (the popular Bangkok-Donmuang Road) which branches off at Kilometer 20 into Minburi Road which cuts across Bangchan Canal at Kilometer 13 (Crossing of Paholyotin and Minburi Roads as Km.0). It has been observed that the price of land on each side of Paholyotin Road has been increasing rapidly: a parcel at Km. 11 which was valued at 50,000 baht per rai in 1952, for example, was sold at 150,000 baht per rai in 1954. It has also been observed that price of land in this section of the Bangkok suburb declines with the distance from Bangkok proper: the 1954 price was 150,000 per rai at Km. 11, and 50,000 baht per rai at Km. 20 where the Minburi Road begins. If the Minburi Road is considered as a continuation of Paholyotin Road, it is only natural that the price of land would gradually decline to 12,000 baht per rai at Km. 13.

182 It is conceivable that the recent increase in Bangkok
423 population is one among several factors causing the rapid
435 rise of residential land prices. When the rapidity of the
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7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

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423 rate of increase in land price is considered, however, it
435 is reasonable to believe that population increase is cer-
369 tainly not the only factor.

[121] It is not the purpose of this study to deal with the price of urban land. Neither the problem of land utilization nor the whole economy of Bangchan can be clearly understood, however, without some account of the rapid building up of urban land prices in recent years. It is thus necessary to digress at this point into some factors accountable for this rapid rise.

369 It has been observed that the volume of domestic
454 saving in Thailand is small because of the low level of in-
423
435 come, and that such saving as does take place tends to be
178 put into real estate and gold and jewelry. Concentration
182 of income resulting from the postwar phenomenon of shifting of political and economic power into the hands of few people, however, has somewhat increased the proportion of saving; but this is again used largely to purchase real estate. The natural result is the boosting up of urban land prices especially in the suburban sections where there has been a relatively high degree of improvement in road construction since the war.

This investment in land purchase has more than ever
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45 before assumed a speculative nature. This is largely due
178 to the experience of inflation initiated by World War II
369 whereby huge and easy profits could be made from buying
182 and selling of land. Corruption in the sale and purchase

423 of government real estates has no doubt increased these
45 speculative activities. The process has also been greatly
178 accelerated by an enormous increase since the war of banking
369 facilities, which traditionally extend loans on mortgage of
182 real estate. It should be noted in this connection that the demand for loans in Bangkok has been so great as to allow most commercial banks to adopt a highly discriminating policy of extending loans only to their favored customers who are often willing to give as much as five per cent of the loan sought to bank officials as a customary "tea-money".

182 A third factor is that some organized financial
423 institutions have actively been engaged in deliberate at-
435 tempts to boost up land prices for their own speculative
455 gains. This was the immediate cause of the rise of land
178 price in Zone 1 from 300 baht per rai in 1948 to 12,000 baht
369 per rai in 1953. According to several informants in Bangchan, a representative of an insurance company in Bangkok came to the village in 1952 and offered to buy land on each side of Minburi Road at 10,000 baht per rai. This man was able to buy 20 rai of land at Km. 8, Minburi Road, which is in the immediate neighborhood of our arbitrary Bangchan Village, at his offered price of 10,000 baht per rai. At the time of the signing of the purchase contract, he made a 10 per cent down payment of 20,000 baht. Although the balance of 180,000 baht was not paid and the contract was later forfeited, the proposed purchase immediately pushed land prices in Zone 1 up to 10,000 baht per rai or over. According to

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

our informants, the insurance company owned hundreds of rai of land in the vicinity. By spending only 20,000 baht in boosting up land prices, the company thus set the stage for making a large profit through sale of their own land at inflated prices.

While the increase in land prices in Zone 1 was attributable to the sudden assumption of residential land prices, this explanation does not apply to the increases in land prices in the other zones which have remained agricultural throughout. Although less spectacular than the case of Zone 1, the rise in land prices in these six zones was also quite abrupt, averaging 560 per cent for the five-year period from 1948 to 1953 (Table 28).

Capitalized valuation of these farm lands (Zones 2-7) may shed some light on the situation, although there is limitation especially to the cost concept. There are two ways by which a capitalized value of farm lands may be obtained: (1) by capitalizing income from the farm operation left after payment of all factor costs except land, and (2) by capitalizing income deriving from explicit rent of the land.

Receipt from one rai of rice land in 1948 may be calculated from the crop of 32.1 tang at 252 baht, using that year's average farm price of 7.86 baht per tang of paddy. When the cost, including an imputed return to all labor but excluding rent, of 166 baht per rai is deducted, a residual return to land of 86 baht per rai is obtained for the year.[15]

15. For want of sufficient data, it is assumed that the cost items other than rent remain the same.

In 1953, figure for the size of the crop was not available, but we may use the 1948-52 average of 28.8 tang per rai. With the year's farm price of 9.00 baht per tang, receipt may be calculated at 259 baht per rai. Using the same cost, again excluding rent, of 166 baht as in 1948, a residual return to land may be estimated at 93 baht per rai.

Capitalized value of land may be calculated from the formula $v = \frac{a}{r}$ where 'v' stands for capitalized value of land, 'a' for income from the land, 'r' for the rate of interest prevailing in the locality.[16]

When the calculated residual return to land is used, the capitalized value of farm land in Bangchan (Zones 2-7) is found to be 573 baht per rai in 1948, and 620 baht per rai in 1953. When income deriving from explicit rent is used in the calculation, however, the capitalized values become 327 baht per rai in 1948 and 487 baht per rai in 1953.

It is interesting to note that capitalized values of land computed from these two different types of income were closer to each other in 1953 (487 baht computed from income deriving from explicit rent as against 620 baht computed from the calculated residual return to land) than in 1948 (327 baht computed from income deriving from explicit rent as against 573 baht computed from the calculated residual return to land). In other words, landlords are now receiving a larger proportion of the residual after payment of all

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16. The rate of interest of 15 per cent per year is used. This is the minimum going rate with security. Without security, the rate may be as high as 30 to 50 per cent per year.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

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factors, except land, at the going rate of return. A more interesting point to note is that the capitalized value of land in 1948 (327-573 baht per rai) was substantially higher by either method of calculation that the average price of farm land in that same year (240 baht per rai), while the capitalized value of land in 1953 by either method of calculation (487-620 baht per rai) was far below the average price of farm land in that same year (1,583 baht per rai).

The situation in 1953 indicates that the price of farm land in Bangchan has been bid up too high. The stickiness of rent rates in the locality mentioned earlier together with the fact that landlords are now receiving a larger proportion of the residual after payment of all factors, except land, at the going rate of return have led us to the belief that the proportionate share of the landlords will be increasing in the near future.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

243 463 [423] [431] Third, among the land owning class the newly established family usually received from their parents an outright gift of land or the benefit of free use of a certain area of land for two or more years. They would not receive this gift if they did not pursue rice farming.

It is seen, then, that while rice growing might have become less attractive as an occupation, there are still some cultural factors that have been working to confirm the Bangchan villagers in their preference for rice cultivation.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

MAP II

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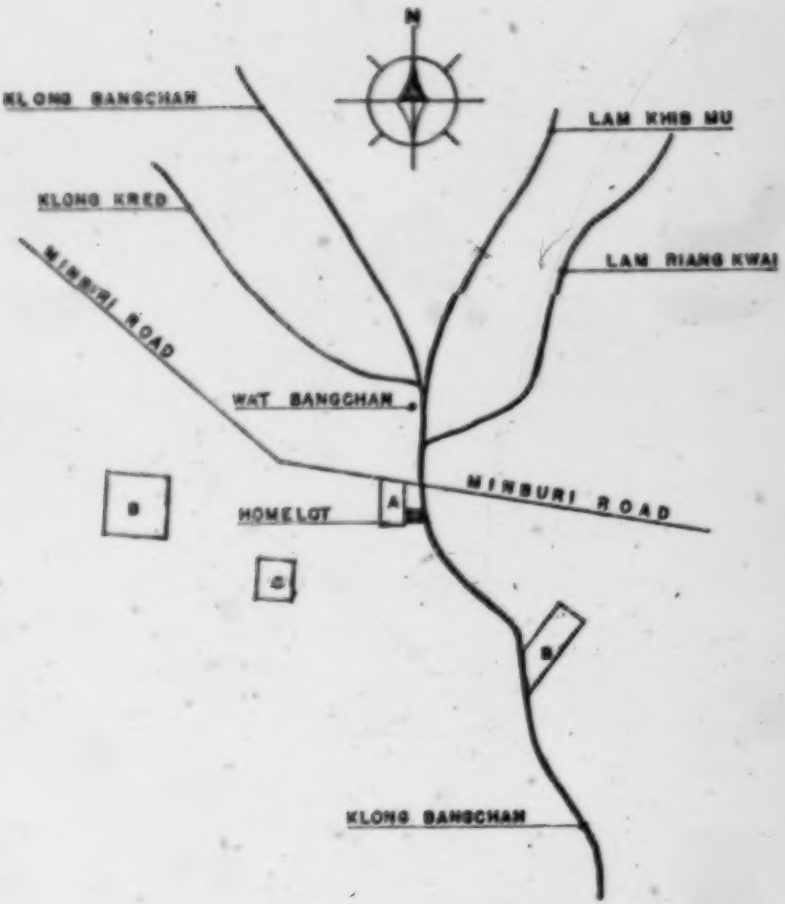
SKETCH MAP OF CHOM FARM AND HOME LOT BANGCHAN, THAILAND 1953



Rough scale: 4 cm. to 1 km.

7: Janiekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

243 433 water conditions is also a major factor militating against investment on fertilizer. As it happens, therefore, fertilization does not prevail in the decision making of Bangchan operators.

If the operator has any positive role at all in the production plan, it is in the selection of rice varieties. This topic has already been dealt with in the section on labor adjustment devices of the preceding chapter.

243 433 423 Finally, one of the most important organizational decisions involves the choice of the size of the farm. It has been observed that poverty in agriculture is as much a problem of farm size as of any other single factor. Most frequently, farm size is spoken of in terms of acres -- the land input. Although this measure is generally not sufficient, it serves the purpose quite well in single-crop farming areas such as Bangchan and all other rice areas in this country. In this study, therefore, farm size will be expressed in rai (two-fifths of an acre) devoted to rice.

Generally speaking, if the Bangchan operator is free [464 592] to choose the farm size that suits him best, his decision will be based almost entirely on the size of labor force under his command, which in turn depends largely on the size of his family labor. As it happens, most operators are not 243 free to do so. It was mentioned in the section on land tenure 427 of Chapter III that it was only the landlord-operator group, 464 actually 11 out of a total of 216 farm operators in Bangchan, 423 that had demonstratively shown sign of land saturation and

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

thus could freely choose the proper size of their farms.

To be sure, some of the other 205 operators in the land scarce group could rent in enough additional parcels to make an efficient-sized farm. The preliminary study in 1948-49, however, reveals that of 104 farms under study 87 were under-sized. The point we want to make in this section is that there are considerations other than economic interest which preclude the attainment of a most favorable farm size by some of these land scarce operators. In the study of labor utilization on Chom Farm, it was seen that preparation of the fields was finished long before the deadline, indicating that the land input could be increased or labor input could be decreased. If Chom wanted to rent in an additional parcel of five rai, the problem presented would not be simple. In the first place, all rice land in the village had been filled up, so Chom's additional parcel had to be one that had been operated by a neighbor of his. Unless this neighbor had expressed an intention to quit this parcel, conscience alone would prevent Chom from outbidding the other person for the parcel. Second, although lease of land was on a one-year basis, in practice the landlord usually rented his lands continuously to the same tenants. If the landlord wanted to operate a certain parcel himself, the former tenant might think that it was reasonable enough to abandon the parcel. But it was inconceivable that he should leave the parcel so that another tenant could operate it. Third, the additional parcel should not be too far away

A 243 from the homelot because much time and energy would be
• 423 wasted in daily walking to the field.
464
427 It would seem, then, that most rice farm operators had little opportunity to obtain a farm size they thought best and had to accept what was due them. Thus, their role in choosing the size of business, which is the most important role, is also limited.

A243 2. Limited role in management: Inasmuch as manage-
221 ment refers to the function of putting the scheme into opera-
431 tion, Bangchan operators certainly have a large part to play. A good rice crop depends largely on the relationship between the height of the young plant and the rising water level. Since the rise of water level is highly seasonal, depending on local rains as well as rains elsewhere that affect the general water level, scheduling the farm work and seeing to it that the schedule is followed becomes a most important function of the farm operator.

A243 Management, however, refers also to the function of
433 making those adjustments in the business which are necessary in order to obtain the maximum economic returns from the farm business as a whole. Inasmuch as this latter function is concerned, the operator's role has been limited as in the case of the organizational function. As previously stated, under the present stage of technological development in rice production in this country, not only the points of diminishing return of both labor and capital (farm equipment, at the present state of technical development in the village)

243 433 [435] the value of family labor, the cost of managerial service of the operator of 1,000 baht was arbitrarily charged for farms with the size of 10 rai or over. For farms under 10 rai, only 500 baht was arbitrarily charged as the cost of managerial service.

4. Depreciation: From the original cost of each item of equipment (including buffaloes) was deducted its residual value at the termination of its service, and the result was divided by the expected length of service in years of the equipment.

5. Interest on investment: The rate of 15 per cent per year was arbitrarily chosen. This was the maximum legal rate, and was also a minimum rate of return which any person in Bangchan might reasonably expect from his money if he chose to lend it out at any moment.

[128] Since much of these imputed expenses were arbitrarily chosen, the cost of producing paddy might naturally vary widely according to the assigned value of each item. Our cost of production figure, then, will be more meaningful, if the amounts of these arbitrarily imputed values are constantly kept in mind.

243 433 461 423 Farms in Bangchan are composed of from one to four parcels of land. The characteristics of this fragmentation are shown in Table 39. The size of a parcel ranges from one rai to 65 rai, averaging 18.8 rai. Fragmentation obviously brings about a waste of considerable time and energy spent in going from one parcel to another, and thus an increase in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 282]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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243 433 461 423 labor cost. Most farmers must go by foot or boat to work at places ranging from a hundred meters to two kilometers from home. This waste is the more serious during the period of preparation of the fields at the beginning of the season when the water level in the canals is not high enough to permit the effective use of a boat.

243 178 423 Table 40 shows the frequency distribution of areas worked by Bangchan operators in 1948 and 1952. It is seen that in both years work areas concentrate in the size groups between 10 to 40 rai, averaging 34.2 rai for 1948 and 31.7 rai for 1952. It is seen also that the work areas of 1948 have a wider range than that of 1952. There were 30 farms in 1948 whose areas were 40 rai and over, while the number of such farms was 28 in 1952.

Table 41 shows that of 96 continuing farms, 20 have increased their size during the five years period, 40 have decreased their size, while 35 farms have the same size throughout.

243 433 46 2. Labor: This element represents 51 per cent of the total cost of producing paddy (Table 38). Of this, only a small fraction is actually paid for -- 3.3 per cent to hired laborers and 3.4 per cent to pieceworkers. The bulk of labor is supplied by family workers (including the operator himself) whose labor value is assessed at 44.6 per cent of the total cost of producing paddy.

It is seen in Table 42 that the number of adjusted rai per worker is only 9.4 for farms which used only family

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 40

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF AREAS WORKED BY 96 OPERATORS
Bangchan, Thailand, 1948 and 1952

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178
• 423

Class in Rai	Number of Farms 1948	1952
110 to under 120	1	0
100 to under 110	0	0
90 to under 100	1	0
80 to under 90	4	2
70 to under 80	3	3
60 to under 70	5	7
50 to under 60	6	7
40 to under 50	10	9
30 to under 40	18	22
20 to under 30	22	19
10 to under 20	16	18
Under 10	10	9
Total	96	96
Mean	34.2 rai for 1948 31.7 rai for 1952	
Median	30.3 rai for 1948 31.1 rai for 1952	

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 41

CHANGES IN AREAS WORKED BY 96 OPERATORS
Bangchan, Thailand, 1948-52

*243
178
• 423

Description of Farms	Number of Farms
Same size*	35
Increased size	20
Decreased size	41
Total	96

* To take care for reporting errors and errors due to confusion over planted areas and harvested areas, a margin of 2 rai is allowed. Hence, farms reporting size changes of two rai and under are considered to have no change in size.

*243 433 It is often said that the underdeveloped areas are characterized by over-population and under-capitalization. While there is much truth in this, there is also a danger of oversimplification. Capital here includes a relatively small physical in put, but it is actually large in terms of cost per unit.

4. Management: We did not assign any value to the operator's managerial work; only the assessed value of his labor -- 1,000 baht annually, or 500 baht annually if he operated only 10 rai or less -- was included in the item of assessed value of family labor.

The role of management has already been discussed in the previous section of this chapter.

It has been observed that management is furnished by the Bangchan operator and his wife, and in some cases *243 their grown-up sons and daughters. Not a single case has 423 been known where the management on rented farm is shared 427 with the landlord or his agent. It is interesting to note that the absence of the landlord's part in management was exhibited in an environment that should normally create and regenerate his influence over the tenant -- the condition of land scarcity, the Thai respect for one's betters, and the ease in communication between the landlord and the tenant.

Actually, the absence of the landlord's part in management does not necessarily mean that he has no influence over his tenants. On the contrary, landlords in Thailand

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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243 are as influential as most landlords in other countries.
423 It is the limited role of organization and management, which
427 has already been discussed, that has precluded their advisory contributions.

243 434 464 Some farmers had artificially reduced their operational cost by utilizing free labor of transient members of the family, who would not stay long if they were not adequately taken care of. These farmers would have to resort to pieceworkers or hired laborers when transient members decided to leave them.

243 434 655 The farm price of paddy was adversely affected by the government control of rice export. It was estimated that huge profits of no less than 100 per cent had been made each year by the government through its monopoly over and later control of rice export and foreign exchange control. This will be dealt with separately later in this chapter.

243 434 423 Although the average size of farm of 30.7 rai for Bangchan can be favorably compared to the average of 23.1 rai for the Central Plain, this does not mean that size of farm is not a problem contributing to low returns from rice. [464] It was pointed out earlier that there was a condition of disguised unemployment among Bangchan operators. Small size elsewhere simply indicates the widespread nature of the problem of disguised unemployment among farm operators in the Central Plain.

243 434 Limited earning opportunity for incomes from sources other than rice is due to the fact that at the present stage of technological development no other crop can be profitably grown in rotation with rice because of agronomic limitations.

243 434 221 The inundation period from the middle of September to early December, during which time no work is needed on